THE PRESENT POSTURE, AND CONDITION OF IRELAND.

A few Conſiderations alſo humbly offered to higher Debate,

HOW

The warre there may be ſooneſt Ended,
And the Ends of the warre beſt accompliſht.

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IN the great enterprise of *Ireland* which the Parliament has so long, and so honourably laboured under, two things were ever principally aimed at, 1. Satisfaction to be recovered from the *Irish* for past, perpetrated outrages; 2. Future security to be provided for the *English*, that they might not remain exposed to perpetuall revolutions of the same renued machinations, and violentes. In order to these two points, the *English* have been in armes these ten years and more, and though of late the greater part of the *Irish* hath submitted to the *English* Government, and doth disclaim the first bloudy eruption in 1641. and as things now stand, seem willing that the *English* should be satisfied for the time past, and better secured for the time to come: yet we must know that this is no more then the meer force of our arms, (not by them resistible) has extorted since 1649. and even still, though they agree to a satisfaction and security in generall, yet they descend not to particulars, nor let us understand what that satisfaction, & security is which they intend to allow us. If I am not mistaken they think we receive abundant satisfaction, if the small handfull of the surviving *English* be permitted to proceed in the Law, and have trials by *Irish* Juries against al such private persons in *Ulster* and elsewhere, as robd and murdered without publick Cõmission, before the meeting of the General Assembly, and supream Councell at *Kilkenny*. They judg us also sufficiently secured for the future if they henceforth reject Monarchy, & enter into a league with us to be now a neighbour friendly Commonwealth to us: but those propositions are so unjust and dishonourable, that no *English* ear can entertain them without impatience: besides though the *major* part of the *Irish* thus imbrace protection from us, and desire to live peaceably under us, yet that party in *Ireland* which hath the face of a power, and pretends to a right of Government: (with great numbers of considerable adherants) stands still in opposition, and appears in armes against these ends of ours. In as much therefore as *Ireland* is now so neer to a totall reducement, and has this last Summer received so great a change of its Affairs, and yet nothing of these two main proposed points is agreed upon, and concluded: it behooves us from this rest of things past, to come to a new exact survay of

our present condition, and with respect had to our present condition to advise seriously what is best to be resolved upon, and prosecuted by us from this time forward. The opinions of men concerning our present condition are for the most part contrary, and run into two extremes, some think the *Irish* are already sufficiently broken, and vanquisht, so that there remains no busines to be done in *Ireland*, but to agree with such *Irish* as are already in protection, and to seiz the estates of all others that persist in armes, and refuse to submit by a set day. Others think we have but rolled the stone of *Sisyphus* all this while, and over-run a Country which we are not able to hold or injoy: partly because the War it self is yet far from an end, and partly because after the War is at an end, there will be another task of planting to be undertaken; and that probably may prove as difficult, hazardous, expencefull, and tedious, as the war it self ever was. Both these extremes much injure the Parliaments service in *Ireland*, and check the progress of our affairs very much: and in both these points all well meaning people ought to be rectified and undeceived. For the better incouragement therefore of such as are too distrustfull, I shall now indeavour to shew what the advantages are which the late victories and successes of our Armys have won from the enemy; and for the better awaking of such as are too heedles, and inconsiderate in this grand ingagement of our Nation, I shall as ingenuously indeavour to lay open the difficulties that are behind, and must yet be overcome by us. In the year 1649. all *Ireland* was lost to the Enemy except *Dublin* and *Derry*, and when the Lord Lieut: *Cromwell* came over in *August*, with a gallant new Leavied Army to prevent the last mortall blow, that was then giving to the interest of *England*, he found *Derry* greatly distressed with a close Siege, and too remote from relief by any part of his Forces; He also found *Dublin* newly rescued out of the gripes of *Ormond*, who with a very formidable, compleat Army had long straitned, and indangered it: and the manner of its rescue being effected by a handfull of men, scarce conducted by any forecasted design, remains still beyond all admiration. Mans extremity was Gods opportunity: when Lieut: Generall *Jones* might have been wondred at for daring to defend himself with so small a party as the Lord Lieutenant had sent over before to him, then did God inspire him with a sudden resolution to break

into *Ormonds* vast camp, and then did God crown him with the slaughter, dissipation and spoil of that whole Leagure: This blessing the Lord Lieutenant *Cromwell* saw upon his new Government before his landing, and not long after his landing, as good an omen was sent him from *Derry*: for God to demonstrate yet further to him, that he would favour his Government, and bless his Arms, raised that siege also by stupendious means, and so left him and his army free to pursue other designes more opportune and important. And now had the Lo: Lieut: a new cause and a new War to manage, as well as a whole intire Country to recover; having for his enemies at this time not only Papists, but Protestants, and not only *Irish* but *English*, and *Scotch* also: for as if the Kings pretended interest had been superiour to that of Religion and Country, many thousands of perfidious, Protestant, British Revolters had unnaturally leagued themselves with the *Irish*, and by consequence cursedly besmeared themselves with the guilt of the first massacre. Whatsoever places then the late King had gained to the *Irish* (whilst he complyed secretly with them, and professed openly for us) by corrupting our chief Commanders there, by making treacherous pacifications to our ruine, and the enemies great advantage, by drawing some Forces out of *Ireland*, and hindring others going out of *England*, as also by procuring the *Scots*, (then our stipendaries) to draw their swords against us; all these places were now to be regained by the prowesse of *Cromwell*: And whatsoever persons *English*, *Scotch*, *Welsh*, Commanders, Officers, Souldiers, (to either Religion belonging) the late King had seduced from the Parliament: all these were now to be disabused and reclaimed by the policy of *Cromwell*. Nor did he fail in any of these things, for by Gods good hand going along with him, before he had stayed one compleat moneth in *Ireland*, he was Master of the Field every where, and before he had stayed one compleat year in *Ireland*, he was Master of all the strong Cities and Towns in *Leimster*, *Ulster*, *Munster*, nor did he imbark himself in 1650. to take command against the Covenanters in *Scotland*, before he had brought unto termes of submission all the Protestants, and many of the Papists of all three Nations.

The like good hand of God also went along after his transportation with the Lord Deputy *Ireton*, left there in chief Com-

mand by his Commiſſion, to carry on the work ſo proſperouſly commenced, and advanced; and though we look no further back then to the exploits of this laſt Summer, we ſhall find almoſt miraculous advantages extorted from the *Iriſh*, by the rare wiſdome and gallantry of that noble Cheiftain. In Spring laſt *Connaught* ſeemed to ſome but as one Province, and only as a fourth part of *Ireland*, and the other three Provinces being already brought under contribution, twas thought that remaining fourth part would eaſily be made ours; Nevertheleſs in the mean time others, who ſaw there was much work yet left undone in the three other Provinces, and that *Conought* it ſelf had ſuch great Forces in it, and ſo ſtrong a line about it, valued that Province in that poſture, and conjuncture of affairs as a moiety of *Ireland* at leaſt. For computing the two ſtrong Towns of *Limrick* and *Galloway* with many other knotty peices in that Country, and conſidering the whole Countries naturall fenced ſituation, and the great power of men that were there rendevouzed to juſtifie all fordable places in the *Shanon* and other difficult Avenues in the North: adding alſo that our Army could make no attempts but in divided bodies, and that ſo great a ſpace and diſtance with ſo many other eminent hazards did interpoſe betwixt the *L:* D. puties brigade whoſe part was to break through the *Shanon* ſouthwards, and the Lord Preſident *Coots* whoſe part was to break through the Northern paſſes, and faſtneſſes: twas a ſignall egregious mercy of God, that both theſe brigades did enter *Connaught* both ways ſo proſperouſly as they did, and that the enemies contracted Forces being ſo numerous and prepoſſeſſed of ſuch advantages ſhould fly away ſo heartleſly, as they did. Neither was Gods mercy more eminently ſeen in preparing theſe entrances for the *Engliſh*, then conducting them, yea in carrying them as it were on Eagles wings being entred: for preſently the *Ulſter*, *Leinſter*, and *Munſter* Forces before an ingagement in the Field gave all for deſperate, and diſperſed themſelves leaving it free to our Commanders to beleaguer their two chief Towns at once, nay not only to attend thoſe two Leaguers undiſturbed, but alſo to riſe with ſome diviſions of their Horſe, and Foot in the mean time, and take in Garriſons, and purſue Enemies upon all levies, rendezvouſes and motions of theirs within 20 miles of each leaguer. The ſtrength of theſe two Towns not withſtanding

ing was very great, and ſo *Preſton* and *Galway* though driven to ſome hardſhip held out, til winter came ſeaſonably into their relief for a while; but *Oneale*, and *Limerick* were fain to ſubmit themſelves, and twenty of their principall leaders, and Councellors to the Lord Deputies meer diſcretion, and to ſuch other conditions, as his mercy thought fit to allow them. Greater atchievements, and acquiſitions then theſe, were ſcarce ever made any where by any Generall in one ſummer: nor can the face of any War receive a greater alteration in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, then theſe did by thoſe admirable revolutions. Boggs, & woods are now the fortreſſes, the Magazins and the granaries that the *Iriſh* muſt truſt to: and though their *militia* be no leſſe then 30000 men, yet we cannot expect the ſame thirty thouſand men ſhould maintain thoſe deſolate receſſes without all accomadations better then they did rivers, grafts, baſtions, well-lined, and well-rampired Towns in *Connaught*, where Ammunition, and proviſions were not ſo much wanting *Ormond* vanted long ſince (as I have heard) that when Towns and Caſtles were no longer to be held for the *Iriſh*, yet for all that he would put on brogues and drive the *Engliſh* to a new warre (or chaſe rather) for ſeven years longer in boggs, and other faſtneſſes: but we all ſee, this great vaunter notwithſtanding (when the *Iriſh* were in a better poſture then now they are) thought it not ſafe to ſtand to his promiſes, he thought it was more counſellable to plow the Seas in a nimble Frigot then to tread moraſſes with a pair of brogues. The *Iriſh* Papiſts alſo that imputed all their former loſſes and defeats to the treachery of *Ormond* and *Inchiquin*, having ſince *Ormonds* and *Inchiquines* receſſe from government been more unſucceſſefull, and received greater blows then ever formerly by the il managery of their wars and ignoble compertment of their Armies may now take out this leſſon, that their cauſe hath been rather diſavoured by God then betrayed by man; but this is forrain to our Boggs and Woods, from which we muſt ſtray no further. Three reſpects make the Boggs, and Woods ſo formidable to us. Firſt they are very many, ſecondly they are very inacceſſible, thirdly there be many amongſt the *Iriſh* to ſuccour and befriend with intelligence and other ſuccours, all ſuch, as have retreited to them. To the firſt I anſwer: that many though they be, they are not able to receive and harbour the fifth part of the *Iriſh*: and

therefore

therefore sith it is in our power now to weaken and annoy the *Irish* by the *Irish*: policy will both direct, and necessity constrain us to pursue this War at the double detriment of the Natives. 2dly, admit that these fastnesses exceed walled Towns, partly in that they cannot be besieged, and partly because the *Irish* may draw out their strength upon any design to be acted without hazarding the losse of their holds, yet they may be blockt up at a distance, and being so blockt up by a conjunction of the *English*, and of the *Irish* under protection (who have the same agility to wade through mire and water) their own narrow causes will be soon made as serviceable to keep in the Defendant, as they are now to keep out the assaylant; and in case they salley at any time with their whole strength, the *English* adjacent garrisons by means of the protected *Irish* under their commands will be in a readines to enter, & possesse those theevish dens of theirs. 3dly, when the protected *Irish* are so interposed betwixt us and the Imbogged *Irish* that we cannot be wounded but thorow their sides; and when our garrisons keep strict watch over them, & call them to account as well for what they contribute to the Enemie, as what they suffer to be preyed from the *English*, the correspondencie betwixt them will be easily broken; 'Tis moreover easie to foresee that when nothing remains but ranging of woods, and driving of boggs, and when the *English* are no longer intangled with a warr against Souldiers, but entertained with a wilde chase after *Tories*, that the Commanders of those *Tories* (after a price is once set upon their heads) will finde themselves in great danger and jealousie of their own fellow kernes, and so retain but little of authoritie or discipline; but I forbear to sum up all advantages that are likely to offer themselves to the prevailing side as it shall prevail more and more hereafter; some whereof are already in view, and shall be touched upon in due place, and others will discover themselves upon emergent occasions in due time: this may serve to quicken our hopes, and make our expectations more pregnant, as often as we look back on that part of the worke which is already transacted, and so far consummated, let us now come to that part of the work which is still behind; and forasmuch as the *English* are naturally more prone to undervalue, then overvalue an enemy, & inasmuch as an enemy never proves more dangerous when he is neglected, then when he

he is too much feared: we muſt be as carefull to rouſe them that ſleep and flatter themſelves with fond dreams of poſſeſſing all already, as we have been to raiſe them that were fainting and ſinking under fears of perpetuall contending and fighting to no purpoſe; And theſe ſupine ſleepers ought to take notice, firſt that there is not only a war in *Ireland* ſtil to be ended, but alſo a plantation to be commenced, a work of more conſequence, and to be compaſt with as much induſtry, art, and force as the war ever was, if we had fought all this while to make *Ireland* ſubmit to *England* the ſwords buſines were almoſt at an end, the remainder of this War would not appear conſiderable: but ſince we have ſought to make *Ireland Engliſh*, and that it may as well be ſafe to us hereafter, as afford us ſome compenſation at preſent for all our blood and treaſure that hath been ſpent upon it, we muſt not think of ſitting down and reſting where we now are.

——— *Multum poſt tergaretictum eſt:*
Ante oculos plus eſt.

War is never its own end: it is a ſad *medium* conducing to ſomething beyond it ſelf, and till it have conduced thereunto it cannot be ſaid to be at an end. Secondly, theſe men are to take notice that as our caſe now is, fighting and planting are inſeparable, and become one and the ſame thing, foraſmuch as in all over *Ireland* almoſt, the Sword has alreadie prepared a fair way for the Plough, and it now lyes upon the plough from this day forward to lend aſſiſtance to the ſword; and hereupon it neceſſarily follows, that the preſent ſpeeding of the one work is the ſpeeding of the other; and the retarding of the one work the retarding of the other. If the Husbandman take not up now his Spade and Coulter, the Souldier will want proviſion, and not be able to ſubſiſt; and if the Souldier lay down his weapons, the Husbandman will not be able to ſowe or reap the fruits of the earth. Thirdly, theſe men ought to take notice that the difficulties of planting are the greater, by how much the *Engliſh* generally are the leſſe apprehenſive of them: Moſt men think that ſince twenty thouſand men have been formerly ſufficient to recover *Ireland* after ſo long and generall a revolt, thirty thouſand men now will be ſufficient to awe it, and reſtrain it from farther revolts; but in the mean time 'tis not conſidered, nor underſtood, that the *Iriſh* by all their loſſes are become the more united,

ted, whileſt the *Engliſh* by all their victories are the more diſperſed. Neither is it duly pondered, that the *Engliſh* with ten thouſand men might better take in any one garriſon two yeers ſince, then they can now hold foure hundred garriſons with thirty thouſand.

Amongſt other difficulties alſo that muſt be incountred with as well by Planter as by Souldier, and that are not ſufficiently taken notice of by the *Engliſh*, theſe are more obvious, and muſt not eſcape a particular remark. Firſt, the *Engliſh* in *Ireland* are very few in number in compariſon of the *Iriſh*, Thoſe of the military Liſt, though they are confined to ſo many garriſons, do but equall thoſe of the ſame Liſt amongſt the *Iriſh*, left at more libertie: and as for the unarmed ſort of the *Engliſh*, they ſcarce make up a tenth part of the *Iriſh*. Before the rebellion, the *Iriſh* (recounting amongſt them ſuch of the old *Engliſh* Papiſts, as ſided with them for Religious reſpects) exceeded the numbers of the *Engliſh* at leaſt five fold; in the Rebellion the furie of the firſt barbarous carnificine fell ſolely upon the *Engliſh*; little leſſe then two hundred thouſand *Engliſh* were ſwept away by it within the ſpace of twelve months; after the Rebellion when once the ſame was juſtified at *Kilkenny*, and from the form of a maſſacre converted into the form of a National war by the Clergie, and ſupreme Councel of *Ireland*, the purſuit thereof for ſeven yeers at leaſt was far more conſumptive of the *Engliſh* then the *Iriſh*. Tis known, that the late Kings ſecret intelligence with the *Iriſh*, and our cheif Commanders ſecret intelligence with the late King, bent our own ſword againſt our own breaſts, and delivered up bound into the hands of our Enemies the poore relicts of the *Engliſh* Nation. Yea even after *Auguſt* 1649. when there was a new reſtauration of the War the *Iriſh* ſtill plaid a wary game refuſing to pich one Field or hazard one battel againſt us, whilſt we nevertheleſſe were conſtrained to fight with ſtone-walls, faſt Paſſes, leaguer ſickneſſes and other extremities, rather then with men. Moreover, through the whole progreſſe of theſe broyls the *Iriſh* have found more friendſhip from the ayr, ſoyl, and ſeaſon of the year then the *Engliſh*. The Woods, the Bogs, the loghs were ever more hoſpitable and paſſable to the *Iriſh* then the *Engliſh*: Upon all marches the *Iriſh* have had better intelligence, readier accomodations, and more variety of ſhifts to ſerve their turns

with

with, then the *Engliſh* could ever find, or procure. And this ſheweth that the *Iriſh* for their very bulk, and multitudes are ſtill very dangerous, ſpecially as to the buſines of planting. Secondly, as the *Iriſh* are formidable for their numbers, ſo alſo we have great cauſe to be jealous of their various eluding arts, and circumventing ſubtilties: tis not ſtrange that theſe Kerns ſhould at laſt preſume upon the lenity, and facillity of the *Engliſh*, when it has been ſo often heretofore abuſed by their impoſtures and caioleries: in all ages the *Iriſh* have been ſeditious, in all ſeditions the *Engliſh* have been victorious: yet no victory yet could ever long quiet the *Iriſh*, or ſecure the *Engliſh*: for the truth is, there is no Nation under heaven more obnoxious to be cozend then the one, or more dexterous to cozen then the other. We are now apt to ſuppoſe, that no miſchief is threatned to us, except only from ſuch of the old *Iriſh* as remain at preſent in open hoſtility: but in this we fondly ſooth our ſelves; for tis hope of indemnity from the Parliament and want of power in themſelves that has of late cauſed thouſands of the *Iriſh* to lay down Armes, condemn the Authors of this Rebellion, and ſubmit to the *Engliſh* Army; which nevertheleſſe perſiſt ſtill to hate the intereſt of *England*, and in their hearts pray for the proſperity of the *Tories*, and reſolve to array themſelves in arms again, aſſoon as they deſpair of impunity. It dos not yet enter into the thoughts of the protected, and more civill *Iriſh*, that the Parliament of *England* will judg this whole defection of *Ireland* to be all one piece from 1641. to this inſtant year, and that the whole Nation of *England* having been damnified on the one part is to expect ſatisfaction, as for damage done by the whole Nation of *Ireland* on the other part: and that no ſatisfaction can be equivalent to the damage done; but a totall ſubmiſſion of the *Iriſh* to the mercy, and diſcretion of the *Engliſh*: when once the Parliament declares concerning theſe points then it will appear by new Commotions and concuſſions following with what ſincerity the *major* part of the *Iriſh* have ſubmitted to our Government all this while. Thirdly the *Iriſh* are cunning enough to reckon not only upon their own ſtrength, but alſo upon our weakneſſe, and doubtles tis not the Duke of *Lorrains* aliance, tis not the benedictions they receive from the Pope and the good words of other forrain Catholick States; tis not the advantage of their own unapprochable retreats of woods

and Boggs: tis not the prosperity, or handsome prospect of their own present affairs, but tis rather the indispositon, and disorder of ours that inspires so much courage and hope into them: they see, the people of *England* have been many years together drained, and exhausted with expeditions both by Sea, and Land, and with wars both forrain, and civil: which must needs ere long portend a failer of Recruits, and supplies from the fountain. They see this last Summer has been in *Ireland* an exceeding wasting, burning summer on both hands, the *Irish* in many places have made havock in our Quarters, and we in many other places have as wastfully fired, spoiled, and preyd them: and this must needs fore signifie a great and eminent decay of contribution in *Ireland*; even whilst our expectations begin to grow faint out of *England*.

They see *Ireland* is of large extent, beyond all that *England* at present can grasp, or possesse by Planters; that unplanted tis unserviceable, nay apt to be disserviceable to us: that thousands of our Nation have lately come over to strengthen us with Colonies, some upon Coll: *Laurences* propositions, some upon other inducements: but most of them have made too much haste, so that many of them for want perished amongst us, others of them live to be a burthen to us; whilst others return home impoverisht to discourage others. They see we are upon ill termes with *Holland*, which menaces more to us then all our other intestine broils, and forrain enmities whatsoever: They see the Parliament has not yet publickly averred, and avowed against the whole Nation of *Ireland*, that they have all as actors, or abettors by themselves, or their representatives violated the *English*, and forfeited all to the *English*: and hereupon they are ready to presume that we are not assured of our right in this quarrell: they see also that as the Parliament dos not conclude all the *Irish* under the common hostility of the Nation: so neither doth it discrimiate, and exempt any of the *Irish* from the particular cruelties and inhumanities which such, & such ringleaders amongst them died their hands in, and Riotously triumphed at, when their hellish skeins were first sheathed in our bodies: and this perhaps continues multitudes in desperation, that might otherwise be drawn to a better compliance with us. More need not to be added, the *Irish* see they are redacted to great extremities, but they

they know withall, that the leaſt remitting or ſlacking of proſecution on our ſide, may yet reſtore them to freſh hopes, and caſt back our buſines very far. They know the *Romans* were once almoſt as neer to a ſubjugation as now they are, yet evaded, and gained more in *Affrica* in one year, then ſeventeen years before had loſt them in *Italy*. *Hannibals* complaint nevertheleſſe, at his forced return from *Naples*, was true: it was the faction, and malignant moroſity of *Hanno* in the Senat of *Carthage*, not the levies of *Scipio* in *Sicily*, that ſo unexpectedly overturned, and quaſhed the long ſeries of his famous rancounters, and ſucceſſes. Wars for theſe reaſons, have ever been fitly compared to thoſe kinds of Serpents which are doubly armed with ſtings, or can wound with double poyſon, as well when it is ejected from their tails, as when it is expumed from their mouths. And this ought to put life into us, as things now ſtand with us: *Turpe eſt in extremo actu deficere*: to be foyled at laſt by a foyled enemy for want of courage is inglorious: but to be foyld by our ſelves, when nothing but want of a little conſtancy, and ordinary policy could undo us, is moſt opprobrius. Ten years we have now reſolutely, and hardily conflicted with the worſt of War; we have as it were, in all our conflicts aſſumed hope beyond hope, and courage beyond courage: and ſhall we now quail or diſpond at the train of War, when we have but one impreſſion more to make upon the half ſcattered rear of it? It has been here made apparent, that if our conſtancy, and ſtoutnes now forſake us we are really in danger to looſe more then this decemiall war has acquired hitherto to us after all our hazards and hardſhips: whereas if our conſtancy and ſtoutnes forſake us not, we have no conſiderable, viſible oppoſition remaining, that can much longer protract, or fruſtrate our hopes of ſpeeding this War, and thereby of accompliſhing all thoſe honourable, juſt, neceſſary ends for which we at firſt imbarked in it. It will be ſaid the people of *England* want at laſt ſome relaxation of taxes: we grant a ſeaſonable relaxation neceſſary: but even parſimony it ſelf when it is uſed out of ſeaſon prooves prodigality, and eaſe becomes a grievous clogg: when a hundred thouſand pound may put an end to that war in ſix moneths, which five hundred thouſand pounds cannot put an end to after twelve moneths elapſed; ſhall we think it good huſbandry to ſpare that hundred thouſand pound? when four parts

of our purchaſe money is paid, and the poſſeſſion will ſurely be loſt and forfeited for non-payment of the fifth part at the day limited: is it diſcretion to deliberate, or adviſe what is to be done? It will be ſaid that ſince the war of *Scotland*, and *Ireland* cannot be carried on together, of theſe two tis better to uſe dilation in the caſe of *Ireland*, then of *Scotland*. Neither of theſe may be granted: theſe two great ingagements may well be managed *ſimul & ſemel*; for it will not exonerate, but oppreſſe the people if dilation be uſed in either of them: and yet of the two, tis far better for us to proceed dilatorily (as things now ſtand) in the war of *Scotland*, then in the war of *Ireland*. Many reaſons may be given for this: but I will onely offer theſe. Firſt, reſpects of Religion binde us to be more zealous in this quarrel againſt *Ireland* then in the quarrel againſt *Scotland*. For if we look backwards to the expiation thats due to God for a whole land defiled with blood, or if we look forward to the reformation of a whole ſtock and race of men as blinde as their Images, we muſt needs ſay the cauſe in *Ireland* is more Chriſtian then the cauſe of *Scotland*. In *Scotland* we are to regulate matters of Diſcipline, in *Ireland* we are to eſtabliſh matters of faith. Secondly, reaſon of State pleads for a preferance of *Ireland* before *Scotland*, inaſmuch as the prize we ſtrive for in *Ireland* doubles, yea trebles the value of that in *Scotland*; yea where one native of *England* expects intereſt in *Scotland*, ten expect and have Inheritances in *Ireland*, for in the ſtiril ſoil of *Scotland* we ſeek the diſabling of an Enemie that we may thereby ſecure *England*; but in the rich ſoil of *Ireland* we aim at founding of new *Engliſh* Colonies, and thereby of inlarging *England*. Policy may in time incorporate the Natives of *Scotland* with the Natives of *England*: but policy, and Nature wil both joyn in incorporating the *Iriſh* with the *Engliſh*, if the plantation now intended be rightly ordered. Thirdly, pregnant arguments of war may make us more ſtudious and ſolicitous of *Ireland* then *Scotland*. For if we look to the preſent ſtate of things: *Ireland* hath more garriſons, and wants more Souldiers then *Scotland*, yet has leſſe proviſions to maintain them: and if we look to the end of our deſigns, all that we intend in *Scotland* is to over-aw, diſarm, and yoke our Enemies with garriſons, we think not of extirpating, planting, or keeping thereaperpetuall Army: The Enemy therefore being already

readie almoſt ſufficiently broken, and unweaponed, and a ſufficient number of garriſons being alreadie fortified, and aptly diſpoſed for the commanding and receiving of contribution there is little to be added to that work. But in *Ireland* the caſe, is ſtill more difficult, and moliminous: where the Souldier ends one work, the Planter together with the Souldier muſt immediately begin another, as much to be priſed above the former, as the end is above the means. Fourthly, this may gain ſome ſpeciall favour to the caſe of *Ireland*, that the Treaſure iſſued for that ſervice has been always ſo frugally lengthened out, and is ſtill ſo dextrouſly managed and husbanded as it is. That which will ſcarce maintain ten thouſand men in other places, has of late maintained twenty thouſand men in *Ireland*, and what have been the returns of theſe mean ſtipends ſo payed needs not here to be ſpoken. Neither is this to be aſcribed to the plenty of that Dominion, or compliance of the Natives; the one is a miſerable ſpectacle of ruin, and the other are living monuments of perfidie: This wonderfull improvement of the Souldiers maintenance is to be aſcribed to the extraordinarie care, integritie, and prudencie of the Parliaments Miniſters there impowred. Tis almoſt incredible with what ſtrict eye there the Parliaments Commiſſioners keep watch over all ſubordinate Officers, in what an exact method they have ſetled every branch of the Revenue, how conſtantly they ſurvey all Accounts, how intentive they are to ſupply all incident defects: how induſtrious in advancing all publick intradoes. The Councell of State has frequently from them the true charge Military and Civil in every Province that is to be born by the publick, and to anſwer the ſame all parts of the Revenue caſuall and certain according to its occaſionall variations, and as it ſometimes extends further, ſometimes narrower; and this ſhews, that as they are ſtrict in their ſcrutinies, and keeping checks at home as to others imployed under them, ſo they are as willing to expoſe their ſervices abroad to the like ſcrutinies of their ſuperiors. I need not adde any thing more, he is a great ſtranger in *Ireland*, that does not know what unexpected ſupport the Souldiery has received there by that providence, and how much has been contributed otherwiſe toward; the ſpeeding of this tedious, devouring war by the travail, ſollicitude, and dexteritie of theſe wiſe and faithfull Councellors,

if the Lord Deputy *Ireton* were now living, he would testifie amply to these things: wherefore it must needs follow that which is denied to such servitors, is not saved to the Common-wealth, but turns to direct damage; such as oftentimes cannot be redeemed with the same value five times doubled, nay nor by any ransome whatsoever: some opportunities in war are to be bought at a low rate, and yet not to be let slip without an unspeakable detriment: and some admit not of any repentance, or after contract whatsoever.

The Commissioners late Letters to the Councell of State neither request things superfluous, nor omit things necessary: by them may be conjectured, how far we are distant from the period of this War, if things be granted and condiscended unto accordingly: they desire timely recruits of Horse and Foot, with supplies of all necessaries proportionable, that with the first of the spring the Army may be inlarged according to the inlargement of the scene they are to act in, and to the dimension of the action they are to be commanded upon: four Provinces must have more Garrisons then three: and four hundred Garrisons require more hands to justifie them then three hundred. They desire that the *Irish* may have some assurance of their future condition: that such as are thought fit to be pardoned may be quieted by the knowledg thereof; that such as are not held pardonable in any degree by the publication thereof may be cast out of the Heard like hurt Deer: that such as are capable of more or lesse grace according to severall qualifications, may accordingly understand how & where to rang themselves, & so speedily to accept of peace with the *major* part, or professe open enmity with the fewer, and more guilty: before some such Declaration made publick to the *Irish* there is no hopes of planting safely in *Ireland*, they desire ampler Commission in the mean time to give fitting conditions to some eminent Commanders amongst the Rebels, upon whom many have dependance, especially for sending them and their chief fighting men beyond the Seas, they desire more power to incourage Planters, especially by setling them in larger Leases, and estates upon rents reserved to the publick; They desire better order for paying the packet Boats at *Milford*, and *Holy-head*, that intelligence betwixt the Nations may be preserved quick and lively; They desire their Bills of Exchange upon the

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Treaſurers at war, upon all urgent occaſions may be duly honoured. They deſire the Laws may be ſharpned againſt coyners or Merchants of falſe, and defective mony: and that by ſome ſpeciall remedy to be provided, and applied to the gangrene of baſe coyn (that is already ſpread almoſt all over *Ireland*) the Trade thereof may be ſtopp'd for the future, and ſome order taken for the calling in what is already paſt betwixt man and man: leaſt the miſchief grow beyond all cure. And this is the more conſiderable becauſe in the coyn of *Ireland*, thouſands of the *Engliſh* are concerned, and as it leaves ſome of its corruption in *England*, at its firſt flux from thence, ſo it reconveies more of its corruption in its ſecond reflux: to theſe things I hope ſatisfactory reſolutions will be returned ſpeedily: and ſince there cannot but fall out many difficulties in *Ireland* when the Parliament has declared and determined concerning the *Iriſh*, and all other Delinquents, as to the putting in execution, that which the Parliament intends towards them, I hope the Parliament, will leave a compleat latitude to the Commiſſioners in al ſuch emergent difficulties to aply equity, to reſpit execution, & to temper the ſtrictnes of the Letter, as they ſhall ſee cauſe; In ſuch caſes the Parliament ſitting at a diſtance muſt hear with other mens ears, and ſee with other mens eyes, and I humbly conceive no other mens ears, or eyes are more fitter to be truſted then their own choſen Commiſſioners.

So much of the ſwordmans part. We ſee here what his ſweat and blood hath gained: now for the Husbandmans part; for tis his building, planting, and labouring of the earth, by which all our gain at laſt muſt be made injoyable, and preſerved.

Nec minor eſt virtus quam quærere, parta tueri.

The Parliament of *England* about the latter end of 1641. ſeeing the inſurrection of *Ireland* generall; not Nationall only of the *Iriſh* againſt the *Engliſh*, but religious alſo of the Papiſts, (wherein were comprehended vaſt numbers of the old, and latter *Engliſh*) againſt Proteſtants; paſt an Act for the leavying of monies to make head againſt thoſe buccherly inſurrectors. By the ſaid Act all that would adventure monies towards that deſign, ſhould have ſecurity for their adventures out of the Lands in *Ireland* forfeited to the State by this Rebellion: more particularly, at the concluding of the War; every adventurer was to have by

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lot ſet out to him an eſtate of Inheritance of ſo much Land in *Leinſter* for ſo much monies adventured, of more in *Munſter*, of more then that in *Conuhht*, of more then that in *Vlſter*, for the ſame ſum. And now the war (as to this purpoſe of inveſting the adventurers in their due allotments) is judged ſufficiently concluded: Officers may forthwith be ſeaſonably appointed to order the Lotteries; and all particular adventurers may forthwith have recourſe to thoſe Officers for a deciſion of their ſhares: and aſſignations may be without any further delay granted them here, *viz.* what numbers of acres fall to them, in what Province, in what County, in what Barrony; Theſe being done, it reſts afterwards upon the Commiſſioners, and ſurveyers in *Ireland*, authoris'd by Parliament for that purpoſe, upon preſentation, of theſe aſſignations, to come to new Lots in every Barrony for ſeverall ſubdiviſions, and out of theſe ſubdiviſions to admeaſure to each adventurer what is due by the ſtatute. And becauſe the adventurers may draw unequally, in ſome Provinces, Counties, Baronies, *&c.* more acres perhaps then the ſame are able to bear in others leſſe, the ſaid Commiſſioners are to make good the defects of one Province, *&c.* out of the ſurpluſages of another. In the words of the ſtatute nothing appears of any preference given to the adventurers, before ſuch as are to enter and plant under the States title: but I think tis the Parliaments favourable intention that the adventurers ſhould be firſt ſerved: and this is the more favourable, becauſe in *Ireland* the Parliaments intereſt is ſufficient to ſatisfie the adventurors twice over at leaſt, and becauſe the adventurers propoſed at firſt to bring in a million of mony, yet never brought in half the proportion, which failer doubtleſſe concurred among other cauſes to prolong the war, and ſo drew us into this vaſt expence at laſt; and certainly the adventurers themſelves if they had brought in a leſſe conſiderable ſumme, would have expected leſſe priviledg then now they find: howſoever it will be now requiſite providence in the State to treat circumpectly with the adventurers: and even juſtice, as well as good husbandry will challenge from us: firſt that we take a ſtrict courſe for the examination, and liquidation of all mens titles that pretend to ſhare in theſe adventures: eſpecially ſuch as produce aſſignments, and claim by ſundry mean aſſignments. For we cannot but preſume that ſome of the aſſignors or

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assignees at least, if not others, have been Delinquents, and either have not compounded at all, or not compounded particularly for these adventures. Secondly, since the statute allows satisfaction, to the adventurers out of Lands to be alotted in such or such a Province, after the rate of so many acres, but prescribes not at all in what particular part of any Province the lot shall be cast: it will be both thrifty and reasonable to exempt all Cities, Corporate Towns, Ports & other considerable places fit to make mercats or staples for traffick, (with due precincts to them assigned) from the chance of these Lots. Thirdly, since the State has been at so incredible a charge in this War for the Adventurers speciall advantage, though not assisted by the Adventurers, as was at first proposed, and since the statute intimates nothing concerning interest to be allotted to the adventurers, but rather purposely considers them with the ampler quantities of land, which quantities are yet likely to prove rich purchases: it will be very equitable to deny the Adventurers consideration, or use for the forbearance of their monies thus adventured.

Fourthly, since the States remainder of forfeited lands in *Ireland* is far greater then all that can be applotted to the Adventurers will extend to, and since the improvement of the remainder depends upon other planters and undertakers, far more in number then the Adventurers: much warines ought to be used that no other priviledg beyond the sence and words of the statute be granted at the importunity of the Adventurers, which may redound to the disadvantage of other mens plantations, and undertakings. Fifthly, since a preeedency of casting lots is granted to the Adventurers, it would be well provided for, that no dilatory tardy use be made of that precedence: but that other planters which in order now stand behind the Adventurers, and must wait till the ascertaining of their proportions, be admitted to enter upon their parts without further stops, in case there be any neglect on the adventurers part. 6ly, For the prevention of a 1000 contests and other inconveniences, it were good that a determination by lots (in all cases where lots can take place) might peremptorily conclude all differences, and quiet all pretences, and that no person, or corporation, Adventurers, or other planters might be suffered to decline this determination, or be specially favour'd with choise, or change upon any allegation or

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pretence whatsoever. Lastly, it would be specially declared to the Adventurers: that notwithstanding any priviledge to them indulged, all other interessents in *Ireland* having precedent tiles from the Parliament, or otherwise, though perhaps obtained since the statute in 1641. ought to remain quiet & unmolested: and that they themselves even after their proportions are admeasured to them, as well as before ought to remain chargable with all taxes, and liable to all publick Orders made for the States service, or the common good of all Planters, equally with all other ingagers in that common undertaking. And now from the Adventurers which are only a part of the planters, let us pass to the generall design of planting, and let us contrive as far as lies within the circle of our comprehension how the same may be best formed and regulated: Let it be inquired into, first what is the necessity of this undertaking. —Secondly, what time will be most oppertune to enter upon it. —Thirdly, what part of *Ireland* will be most commodious to be chosen as a stage for the commencement of this work. —Fourthly, what rules, and method we shall best observe throughout this whole transaction. ——First, this war (as has been said) proposed to it self from the beginning two fair, lawfull aims, satisfaction and security: and now it is apparent that neither of these can be obtained till *Ireland* be made *England*, by *English* Colones founded in it, and spread over it. In the point of satisfaction, we neglect not Gods part, we know the general defilement of blood, which has overflowed the Land, ought to be expiated before him in pursuance of his speciall command; but we know not how regularly and judicially to proceed against the principall authors of this defilement, divers intricacies perplex the case, for without the sword no justice could be gotten against the *Irish*, and that justice which is gotten by the sword wants formes of Law, and distinguishes not betwixt authors and accessories, but rather wayves particulars and pursues whole communities: and therefore having no cleer warrant to offer unto God an expiation of blood shed extrajudicially, we dare not upon this account draw any more then form of Law, and the rules of peace will bear us out in, upon sufficient proof and evidence: we fear the whole Nation is obnoxious, in his sight, and every one of the Nation before his secret judgment has contracted guilt by consenting too far,

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or not oppoſing far enough what our Nation ſuffered; but the cognizance hereof muſt be left to his Tribunall, and man without a warrant, and a rule muſt not interpoſe in it; Neither dos the exterpation of whole communities ſtand with Gods uſuall diſpenſations: and when God has been ſo far provoked to iſſue out generall condemning ſentences, which has been very ſeldome, his commands have ever been ſolemnly delivered from heaven, and ſo made plain beyond all doubt and diſpute, and yet ſome rebatement of rigor he has always tolerated alſo in the execution, out of favour to mankind. Amongſt the *Canaanites* condemned to deſtruction, *Rahab* and her Family were ſaved for one act of piety unto ſtrangers, though the ſame favour'd of treaſon againſt her own Country, the whole execution alſo in *Canaan* by Gods own counſel was retarded for the conveniency of the *Iſralites*, leaſt the wild Beaſts ſhould have fructified and multiplied too faſt upon them. And in the caſe of the *Gibionites* it is decided that if the Magiſtrate ingages to ſave, whom God commands to eradicate, though he be drawn into ſuch an ingagement raſhly by the fraud of the party, that ſhould not elſe have been ſaved: yet Gods command ſhall give way to the Magiſtrates ingagement, that ſo the publick faith may be kept inviolable: wherefore it ſeems that the *Iriſh* (as things now ſtand in *Ireland*) are rather to be lookt upon as the *Gibionites*, then as the reſt of the *Canaanites*, and that in the point of ſatisfaction, we are rather to challenge them (univerſally and Nationally) of damage upon our own account, then of cruelty upon Gods. And ſince God is ſo prone to diſpence with his own command, when publick convenveniencies may be procured thereby, we which have no command to root out the *Iriſh*, nor can effect it without gratifying woolves, and foxes with all, more then our ſelves, need not ſcruple any intentions of favour in generall towards them. Our planting in *Ireland* amongſt and together with the *Iriſh* may ſtand with piety wee ſee, for that it ſubſtracts nothing from Gods challenged expiation: but ſome will object, it ſtands not with charity, for that it diſſeiſes, and ejects the old Natives, and true proprietors of that Country: Faithfull Hiſtories, and records, for anſwer hereunto aſſure us: that *Ireland* originally as a member of this Iſland, (by *Ariſtotle* termed one of the two *Britiſh* Iſlands, and by *Ptolomy Brittain* the leſſe) was firſt peopled

with Colonies from hence: that *Gormond* Lord of *Biſcay*, after the death of his Father *Belin* King of *Brittain*, partly to eaſe *Biſcay*, which then was over peſterd with too many inhibitants of the *Scythian* and *Goothiſh* race, and partly to recrute *Ireland* after a lamentable mortality, tranſported thither out of *Spain*, the ſame ſtock of planters which now call themſelves the old *Iriſh*: that theſe *Spaniſh* inmates never pretended to any Government by themſelves, and ſeverall from the *Brittiſh* till the *Romans* infeſted us here, and then they began to make head againſt the old proprietors, and to govern themſelves by new Laws, and new Taniſts, or petty Kings of their own: that about the year 579. after the *Romans* departure, Prince *Arthur* reduced thoſe inmates to their antient ſubjection, and made their petty Lords attend at *Carlian* to dohim homage: hat though the *Iriſh* had again an other opportunity to inſult during the *Saxoniſh* broils and troubles here, yet upon the diſſolution of that heptarchy *Edger*, again brought them into order: that though the *Norman* invaſion here afterwards, and the civill wars that enſued upon the undue Coronations of *Williams* immediate ſucceſſors, gave a third opportunity to the *Iriſh* of incroaching, yet *Henry* the ſecond, great Grandchild to *William* reinveſted himſelf again in *Ireland*, and in the year 1172. was freely and abſolutely ſubmitted unto in legall form, by general conſent in Parliament at *Liſmore*, as *Leige* Lord of that Dominion: that for 100 years after the *Engliſh* remained every where as intire Maſters, had little diſturbance from the *Iriſh*, but kept them in aw as Aliens within their woody, mountainous, and Boggy faſtneſſes, that though the *Iriſh* had more new advantages of attempting againſt the *Engliſh* yoke, during our Barrons wars here, about the end of *Henry* the third, and when the *Engliſh* Lords in *Ireland* began wars, and deadly feuds againſt each other, (perhaps upon the ſame quarrels) but eſpecially when *Edward Bruice*, brother to the King of *Scots* in the Raign of *Edward* the ſecond, landed a *Scotch* Army in *Ulſter*, and ſided with them: yet the *Engliſh* ſtill retained much of the Land, and all the enſignes of rule and Law giving, and after three years defeated, and ſlew *Bruice* in Battel: that though many *Engliſh* names and Families in ſeverall ages ignobly degenerated, and mixed with the *Iriſh* out of love to the *Brehan*, or *Taniſh* Laws, and other brutiſh uſages of thoſe Barbarians; and

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at this day our *Iriſh* pretending rivalls are more then half mungrils, and of the old *Britiſh* extraction, yet down to Queen *Elizabeth*, the *Engliſh* Scepter ſwaied uncontroulably in *Ireland*: all the Courts of Juſtice, all the walled Towns, all the ſtone built houſes, all monuments, that can teſtifie any thing either of Chriſtianity or civillity, all were erected by the *Engliſh*, the *Iriſh* are ſcarce to be traced in any thing, but in ſome old beaſtiall cuſtoms, ſuch as roving in kreets, plowing by horſe-tails, eating horſeflesh, and the like: that Queen *Elizabeth* found, and left *Ireland* under peaceable allegiance, and intirely ſubjected to the *Engliſh* Government, and though for her Religions ſake, and enmity with *Spaine*, ſome *Iriſh* Septs took the boldneſſe to riſe in Armes againſt her, truſting in *Philip* the ſeconds aſſiſtance, yet ſhe lived to expell the *Spaniards*, and bring upon their knees all the *Iriſh*, and left to King *James*, and his Son after him, as quiet a ſucceſſion to *Ireland*, and as unqueſtionable as to *England*.

Moreover, if the *Engliſh* were not the true old propriators of *Ireland*, yet ſo many ages intereſt, & poſſeſſion intitles them now to a quiet injoyment of what is, or was theirs by purchaſe, or diſcent: and ſince the Land in 1640: before theſe deſolations was ſcarce half ſtored with people, as other civiller Countreys are, and at this day wants more Inhabitants then both the Nations can poſſibly ſupply: nothing but diabolicall malice could make the *Iriſh* ſo oppoſite to our Plantations as now they are: if they reply that they do not ſo much abhor our cohabitation with them as our authoritie over them, they muſt conſider, firſt, our ancient right to that authoritie: 2dly, our Nations puiſſance to make good that right, they are the earthen pots, we the braſs, both of us cannot rule; and if we both juſtle and conteſt for rule, the earthen pot will crack: their experience may teach them that the braſs pot has ever yet been too hard for *them*. 3dly, we aim not at a meer Empire over them, but an incorporation with them: only we ſay, that till they renounce thoſe impious principles of Religion, and thoſe bruitiſh dictates of nature which ſo lately ſpurred them on to this curſed, generall aſſaſſinat on and defection, and till they have otherwiſe duly ſatisfied, and ſecured us, we cannot think of incorporating with them: and till we come to incorporating we muſt be ſufficient protectors of our ſelves; in plain terms, we muſt be abſolute maſters of them, and

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this, if they were capable of honour, and juſtice, or ſencible of their own good and ſafetie, they would not think horrid, or unreaſonable.

But to quit this digreſſion, our Anceſtors were skilfull enough to conquer, but made ill uſe of their Conqueſts in *Ireland*, elſe they had not intailed theſe miſeries upon us after all their noble exploits. When they were graſping after forrain trophies in *Judea* and *France*, they ſhould have been enſuring their own Dominions in *Scotland* and *Ireland*: and then had *England* been doubly inlarged as well by the acceſſion of ſo many friends, and as by the ſubduction of ſo many enemies. The Parliaments deſigns therefore at preſent are more ſpacious, and heroicall, they do not meerly propoſe to regain *Ireland*, but to regain *Ireland* for the benefit of poſteritie: and in order thereunto, they endevour to accompliſh that by planting, which was not to be accompliſht by meer fighting. What then need be ſaid more? the neceſſitie of this plantation is ſtrongly to be inferred and urged out of the neceſſitie of the war it ſelf, for if in the beginning of theſe broils we had no end of overcoming but to overcome, certainly all the blood, devaſtation, and deſtruction which in ten yeers we have drawn upon our ſelves has been ſo unneceſſarie, that we can never anſwer it either to good or wiſe men. But if our ends did extend further, if we did aſpire to ſolid ſatisfaction, and ſound ſecurity, if we had in our breaſts publick thoughts of dilating our Countrey, or religious vows of propagating the true faith of Jeſus Chriſt, why do we not hold our ſelves now bound the more ſtrenuouſly to purſue theſe purpoſes, the more neer we approach to the compaſſing of them? If coſt, if danger, if toil, if any difficulty be pleadable now, ſure the ſame was more pleadable ten yeers ſince, before we had caſt away ſo much coſt, and toil, and loſt the fruit of ſo many dangers and difficulties. He that has prepared materials for building, and raiſed his foundations to ſome eminence, and then leaves off building, and diſmiſſes his Maſons, upbraids himſelf of wilde folly; but He that goes on in his ſtructures, and never ceaſes till the roof only wants laying, and then leaves all uncovered to the injury of winds, and ſhowers, expoſes himſelf to greater cenſure, and deriſion. And the caſe is the ſame with ſuch a ſottiſh builder, whether He forbear to perfect his erecti-

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ons out of penury, becauſe the charge remaining ſeems too great or out of vanity, becauſe the work remaining ſeems cheap, and inconſiderable: that only condemns him of more puſillaminity, this of more ſtolidity.

2. The when, or the choiſeſt ſeaſon for our beginning to plant comes next into conſideration. And for this nothing can be yet reſolved, counſel muſt be taken in *arenâ*: when the Parliament has ſolemnly declared to the *Iriſh* what particular ſatisfaction, and ſecurity is expected from the Nation: and what ſpeciall grace ſhall be allowed to ſuch, and ſuch excepted perſons as they ſhall be marſhall'd in ſuch and ſuch qualifications: And when the *Iriſh* have as publickly teſtified to the Parliament with what reſentment, they embrace, or reject the judgement pronounced upon them: And when the Army is in a readie poſture to bridle the outrages of the deſperate Rebels, and to prevent diſtempers in the vulgar, and major part, then no occaſion that is fairly offered is to be let paſſe unapprehended. In the mean time the platform of the whole deſigne ought to be delineated, and agreed upon here in *England*, and in order to its complement all the parts ought to be fitted, and ſquared beforehand for their proper places, and uſes, that there might be no more noiſe, trouble, or protraction in progreſſe of our buſineſs when the firſt onſet is given, then was in the erecting of *Solomons* Temple. Delay and precipitation are both to be avoided, but of the two precipitation may prove the more dangerous, foraſmuch as wiſe pauſes ſometimes ſpent in due deliberation, and preparation quicken our motions afterwards, when unadviſed raſhneſs makes us ſtumble in the middle of our courſes, and ſo retards and checks us with ſundrie unexpected croſſes before we attain to the mark of our deſires. Tis much to be doubted, that the preparations in *England*, and *Ireland* that are neceſſarie for ſo important, and ſo vaſte an ingagement cannot be made readie thir Summer, and tis better to court the countinance, and favour of another yeer, then to indanger all by affronting the diſcouragements, and impeachments, that this threatens us with.

3. We are now to conſider where, and in what part of *Ireland* our firſt ſcene may be laid moſt advantagiouſly, when we firſt addreſſe our ſelves to the onſet, and are fitted for our ingreſſe into

into this eminent affair. Report gives out, that the Adventurers make earneſt ſuit for the Town, and County of *Waterford*, to be granted them for the firſt reception of their Colonies, and that all the Province of *Munſter* augmented with the County of *Kilkenny* may be further aſſigned them for their planters afterwards to root, & ſpread themſelves in. Againſt this I deſire leave to object. 1. That it croſſes the ſtatute in 1641. by which the Adventurers claim. 2ly, that it is likely to incommodate the *major* part of the Adventurers themſelves, 3ly. That it is likely to prejudice the generallity of Planters; and they are in probability more in number, and otherwiſe of more conſideration then the Adventurers. 4'y. That it muſt needs diſorder, incumber, and clog with ſundry difficulties the whole buſines of planting. For firſt, the ſtatute manifeſtly provides for a planting by lottery, whereas this propoſal makes the Adventurers chuſers, the ſtatute intends a diſtribution of planters into all the foure Provinces, whereas this propoſal takes care only for the planting of one: the ſtatute ingages only Lands according to ſuch, and ſuch proportions of acres, whereas this propoſal paſſes Cities and Towns to the Adventurers: Theſe things need not be preſſed further, we cannot doubt but the makers of the ſtatute had as deep a meaning, and as good a foreſight, as theſe propoſers have. Secondly, we cannot ſay, theſe propoſers are truly repreſentatives of the whole body of the Adventurers: and therefore if there be any of them that had rather ſtand to their lots in other Provinces (as the ſtatute givee them right to do) then to be confined to *Munſter*, where there is like to be ſo great diſpairity in many of the lower ſubdiviſions, theſe cannot fairly be concluded without their particular conſents, nor can we ſay their conſents are included, when the repreſentatives are not of their particular choiſe. Thirdly, this deſign of planting is to be carried on, and ſpeeded not only by the Adventurers, but by the concurrence of many others: the Souldiers in *Ireland*, whoſe reſpited arrears intereſſe them deeply in this undertaking (and there will be beſides other purchaſers, & immediate Tenants to the State) have their eyes upon this work, and theſe may perhaps find themſelves aggrieved at this anticipation of the Adventurers, and conceive a great diſcouragement is put upon them, if they may not be chooſers, as well as the Adventurers? The more willing

theſe are, that the Adventurers ſhould have a precedence in lots, the more unwilling probably they will be to ſee the Adventurers enjoy a preference of elections. Fourthly, this may many ways perturbe, and impede the whole planting enterprize: for the Adventurers are moſt of them rich men, that will expect large elbowroom in *Ireland*, and their intention is to plant by Tenants, few of them will paſſe over themſelvess, and make it their own buſines, they are ſo well ſeated already in *England*: whereas if the poorer ſort of planters to whom neceſſity has now made that Country a refuge, be more incouraged, tis to be hoped that they will ſhip away thicker, ſettle cloſer, and intend the buſines of Husbandry better. State architects look upon the commonalty as the *baſis* of ev'ry Common-wealth, and therefore are ever more tender of the bulky, groſſe concernments of the *Plebian* order, then of the fine choiſe intereſts of the Knight, or *Patrician*. Moreover, this propoſal concerning *Munſter* ſeems to be far excelled, and exceeded by another propoſal concerning *Leinſter*, which ſpecioufly holds forth and ſubmits to judgment theſe two pretences. 1. That *Leinſter* of all the Provinces, is moſt worthy of the Parliaments ſpeciall care in this buſines. 2ly. That *Leinſter* of all the Provinces is moſt fit for preſent planting: and being firſt planted, will beſt anſwer all intereſts. For the ſupereminent value of *Leinſter*, the more arguments might be uſed, the fewer will be neceſſary. Of all the Provinces it is the richeſt to invite, the ampleſt to receive, and the pleſanteſt to entertain Colonies; and lying ſo neer to *England*, and being ſo well known to our Nation, and having been formerly much civilized by our Nation, it muſt needs be the moſt commodious ſcene for our firſt Actors to enter upon. It has been much ruinated of late in its Towns, and buildings: but its very ruins almoſt are worth the building in other Provinces; and if not ſo, yet *Dublin* alone, may almoſt compare with all the Cities in other Provinces, being indeed founded in a pleaſant ſoyl, decored with neat buildings, ſeated conveniently for a Trade with *Cheſter*, and *Briſtoll*, well neighbour'd by all the Weſtern Ports of *England*, and having this above all to commend it, that it is now almoſt all *Engliſh*, & Proteſtant. Secondly, *Leinſter* beſides its fertility, capacity, proximity to *England*, civility, *&c.* has divers other pretentions to prefer it to the Parliaments ſpecial favour in the firſt introducti-

on of Colonies, it being many other ways more fit for a speedy improovement, then *Munster*; or the two other Provinces: for, 1. this proposal concerning *Leinster* complies absolutely with the statute of 1641. and dos not all seek a crouding together of all the Adventurers into one Province, or making them a distinct corporation, (as it were) from the rest of the Planters: that priority of order, or time which is here desired for planting of *Leinster*, is no more then must necessarily be granted to one of the Provinces, because all cannot at once be stored, and stocked; and yet as it is here desired, it spreads the Adventurers according to the intent of the Act made in their favour, it confines them not to any one quarter of *Ireland*: it likewise incorporates them in point of interest with all the rest of Planters, it divides them not to the weakning of the whole enterprize, and creating of contests, and differences. 2ly. The scituation of *Leinster* both in respect of *England*, and *Ireland*, speaks much for it upon this occasion: for till it be planted, *England* lies ready at hand to ship over supplies into it, & when it is fully planted, it totally so parts *Ulster*, from *Munster*, and so fronts upon the length of *Connought*, that it will be as one intire Garrison to prevent conjunctions in the Enemy, to break in upon the other Provinces at pleasure, upon any hand, and to keep strict watch upon all conspirators, even whilst the smoke shall give warning of a flame following. 3ly. very many of the despoiled *English* Protestants have faire lands, and patrimonies there to recover; and very many of the *Irish* septs and most fighting Papists of old *English* extraction, have considerable holds, and retreits of strength there to loose: and in both these respects our armes will be well imployed in righting the one, and suppressing the other, as soon as may be: if the old *English* Nobillity, and Gentry did chuse to fix their pale in *Leinster*, notwithstanding the Mountains of *Wicklo*, and the Boggs, and Woods in the King, and Queens Counties, we may well imagine that the setling of quiet neighbours in those three Counties, would make that Province a very sweet, delightfull place for habititation. 4. In this province the Adventurers themselves (so many of them as lots shall there dispose of) will be redacted into narrower bounds, and so they will leave the more room for other Planters; because by the Act, two acres here are equivalent to fix in *Ulster*, to more then four in *Connought*,

nought, to more then three in *Munſter*: and by this means all the planters there will be the ſtricter united, and conſequently the better fortified. And thus, this Province alone (it is to be hoped) in a ſhort time may have a trained, rurall *militia* of its own ſufficient, to check any power of the *Iriſh* in the other three Provinces though conjoyned: and being ſcituated as it is, and totally cleered of the *Iriſh*, it would need no Garriſons, but frontire: nor half the number, it now has: eighty Garriſons as it is now planted, cannot ſecure it; twenty Garriſons, as it may be peopled, will be more then enough: nay the ſame twenty Garriſons being well kept upon the paſſes, and borders of the other Provinces, would be altogether as uſefull in doing good offices before them to their friends, as to the new planters behind them, as well in awing the *Iriſh* abroad, as in protecting the *Engliſh* at home.

5ly. *Leynſter* is the more conveniently, and ſuddenly to be ſtored with planters, becauſe it is ſo neer *Ulſter*, and thereby may ſo eaſily exchange *Iriſh* for *Scotch* inhabitants, and Tenants: For one main drift of our preſent propoſal is, to tranſlate and remove all the *Scots* out of *Ulſter* into *Leynſter*, and all the *Iriſh* out of *Leynſter* into *Ulſter*; the *Scots* becauſe they are not ſo numerous into *Wicklo*, the Kings, and Queens Countries eſpecially: the *Iriſh* becauſe they are more populous, either into *Ulſter*, or ſome other inhabited parts of *Munſter*, or *Connought*: as it ſhall appear more expedient: but our propoſal is very ſollicitous, that for the future, *Ulſter* may be ever abſolutely interdicted to *Scotch* inhabitants, and *Leynſter* to *Iriſh*, or at leaſt till the Nations be ſufficiently incorporated. The *Iriſh Scots* are of our Religion, generally well addicted to husbandry, and of peacable converſation: and much good may be expected from their aſſociation with us, and mixture amongſt us, provided they be a little more ſever'd amongſt themſelves, and diſtanced from *Scotland*; but being ſeated as they now are, in an intire body by themſelves, and poſſeſſed of all the maratime parts of *Ireland*, which lye within view of *Scotland*, and where they may ſo eaſily and frequently paſſe and repaſſe, tis very unſafe for us not to diſplant them. I ſhall ſay little of the benefits of this double, interchangable tranſmigration; tis obvious to all, that by it the plantation of *Leynſter* at preſent is likely to be facilitated, and much enſured; that *Ul-*

ſter is likely to be the better quieted for the future, and leſs the leſſe expoſed to any danger from *Scotland*: and that all *Ireland* is likely to reap much fruit from the prudent through ſettlement of theſe two Provinces, both as to the purpoſe of planting, and as to other ſeverall purpoſes: but many exceptions, and difficulties will be here caſt in our way, to which this tranſ-planting both of *Scots*, and *Iriſh* will be liable. It will be objected in the firſt place, that tis not agreeable to juſtice, and honour thus to diſſeize the *Scots*, and expell the *Iriſh* out of their old habitations: which ſcarce deſerves an anſwer, for this tranſlation may be ſo orderd, as that it ſhall bring dammage neither to *Scots*, nor *Iriſh*: and if it cannot be ſo orderd yet reaſon of State will be a ſufficient warrant to us, to chuſe a private miſchief, rather then a publick inconvenience. It will be objected next, that there will be many incumbrances, and inſuperable obſtructions in the buſines, eſpecially from the *Iriſh* in the faſt parts of *Wicklo*, and the King and Queens Countries: to which tis anſwerd, that if we now imploy well the preſent power, that late ſucceſſes have put into our hands, (which certainly is ſuch as our anceſtors never had) we may rather hope to find our plantations inſtrumentall and advantagious to us, in expelling of our Enemies, then fear any advantages that may be taken upon this occaſion by our enemies, for the impeding of our plantations: we have a brave military power in *Ireland*, that ere long may be at ſome leiſure from other ſervice, and then this will be a ſervice proportionable for them: and if this differ any thing from direct military ſervice; tis only in this, that tis more perfective, and leſſe deſtructive to humane ſociety, and that tis honoured with a neerer tendency to the end of fighting, then fighting it ſelf is. The taking in of *Limerick* was of great concernment to us: and yet this ſervice which in probability will not coſt us either ſo much blood, time, or treaſure, is of far greater, and more publick conſequence. Beſides the ſouldiery alſo, there will be multitudes of planters concurrent in this hopefull undertaking, and queſtionles theſe will add much to the facility of the work, eſpecially in the ſcouring of the Glyns in *Wicklo*, and purging the woods in the Kings, and Queens Counties.

Moreover, the Parliament may judge this deſign fit to be laid to heart, and lookt upon as neceſſarie as a Nationall war, yea

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and to interpoſe in it with as much vigor as they did ten yeers ſince, when it appeared nothing elſe but a Nationall war: and then perhaps one family out of every Pariſh in *England* may be preſt, and ſent over at the publick charge, which would perfect what we aim at in *Ireland*, and be no oppreſſion, but an eaſe unto *England*. Something more might be here projected: perhaps it may be thought fit that the ſame Ships which land *Engliſh* planters ſhould return fraighted with *Iriſh* children above ſeven and under 14. yeers old, the ſame to be diſpoſed of in every Pariſh in *England*, and bred up in a good, and husbandly manner: and much might be ſaid for this project, and the publick utility of it, as it would in ſome degree ingage the *Iriſh* unto us, and ballance us with the *Iriſh*: but it does indeed reſemble a project too neer, and therefore I onely ſubmit it, thus mentioned as it is, to men that can judge beyond reſemblances. After *Leynſter* ſomething might alſo be projected for the ſudden peopling of *Connought*, and ſo making that all *Engliſh*, out of *Virginia*, and *New-England*, as likewiſe of ſending *Iriſh* children thither: and ſomething might be added about the ſcituation of *Connought* in its longitude cloſing ſo amicably with that of *Leynſter*, but the very word now grows tedious.

4. The How, or the Method of our planting fals in the laſt place to our conſideration.

Ten yeers a fierce diſputation laſted, and with the effuſion of much blood been maintained; whether the *Iriſh* ſhould give Law to us, or we to the *Iriſh*. In this diſpute, it hath pleaſed God to plead for our cauſe, and to give us at laſt ſuch prevalence, that *Clanrickard* can ſcarce now ſend any ſummons effectuall into a fifth part of *Ireland* to convene his Nobility and Gentry to a conſultation with him, nor has he ſcarce one free Town left for them to meet, and conſult in: and yet now he begins to make application for a treaty, in behalf of the whole *Iriſh* Nation: The matter to be treated on being the ſame, as has been all this while diſputed by dint of ſword, and is now almoſt come to a deciſion: he cannot but know, that treaties are then moſt proper, and neceſſary when they may prevent the greateſt miſchiefe: and that is, when armes are firſt taken up by two freſh competitors, or at leaſt, before war be in its declination, whilſt two competitors are both unfoyled, and have forces, and hopes almoſt equilibri-

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ons: but when treaties are very late offered by a party almoſt deſperate, and tend only to the eluding and fruſtrating of advantages fairly gained in the Field; they uſe to be exploded by the ſtronger ſide; and they are ſo far from promiſing any general good effects, that they often renew, ſharpen, and prolong the cruelties, and calamities of war, by taking away that odds, which elſe would put a period to the controverſie: we object therefore againſt this Treaty. Firſt that it is offered too late: ſeven years ſince the *Iriſh* were anſwerable for a heavy, and fearfull arrear of blood, and damage: but now the ſame arrear is grown to ſo vaſt a bulk by the ruin and expence of war ever ſince: that all *Ireland* will be ſcarce found of value fit to diſcharge it. Secondly, tis offered from a party too far broken, and the cauſe being now likely to be given againſt the *Iriſh*, they deſire to alter the manner of trial, and come to a new arbitration of words; wherein they may become equall Judges again, of that which is already judged very far on our ſide: the plain meaning is; they would fain recover by Logick, what they have loſt by Souldiery. 3ly, tis offered by *Clanrikard* in behalf of a divided party, whoſe conſents he knows not, nor can undertake for, he know his Authority is ſo far cruſht in *Ireland*, that his ſummons can neither be legally ſerved, nor duly obeyed in any one intire County: and yet if all *Ireland* could be orderly aſſembled by choſen Repreſentatives to communicate their true counſels in this affair, tis not likely there would be any unanimous agreement in any one certain reſult: for at preſent the *major* part of the *Iriſh* (by far) ſhelter themſelves under the protection of our Army, curſe the authors of the firſt ſanguinary conjuration in 1641. declare againſt the *Iriſh* party now in armes, becauſe abetters of the ſame, and ingage fidelity to the intereſt of *England:* now if there be ſincerity in theſe things, the ſame *Iriſh* cannot joyn in a treaty with thoſe they ſo far diſclaime, againſt the intereſt which they ſo far own: but be it ſuppoſed that ſincerity is wanting in the protected *Iriſh:* and that they ſtudy a mixt changable intereſt, ſuch as may make them capable of our protection, when they ſee that moſt ſeaſonable, and yet leave them free to ſide with our enemies, when they ſee that moſt conducible, for their other ends: all this being nevertheleſſe ſuppoſed, muſt not divert us from our firſt propoſed demands of ſatisfaction, and ſecurity:

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to the pursuit of these two, we have adhered constantly in the worst of times, and from these we must not receed now, when our condition is so far meliorated. Without full security obtained for the future, all that we have sought for all this while, and woone from the Enemy, signifies nothing: and without full satisfaction for our former sufferings, all our security will proove fruitlesse: and without a totall submission of the *Irish* to mercy, no satisfaction of commensurate value can be given us. Necessity inforces us therefore in this unparaled case of ours, either to lose or win all, either to be above or below treating; the sword has managed this busines so many years, and brought it to passe so far, and none but the sword can now perfect it.

And of this we give plain notice to all the *Irish*, whether under protection or not: and we could wish that none hereafter would ambidextrously shift, and halt betwixt two contrary parties: let all such as are not wholly against us in these our pretentions declare faithfully for us; and let all such as are not wholly for us declare honestly against us. This is sufficient to answer *Clanrichard* and his overtures of a Treaty: and this is sufficient to inform us all of the manner, how we ought to order our first steps towards the settlement of *Ireland* by planters: that it must not be by Treaties, or parlies, but by terror and strength of hands. 2ly, As we are to make force our only way, so we are to see that we be not slack, or cold in that force: we must not put any separation betwixt subduing and assuring of *Ireland*, or conceive the warr is at an end till we see our Plantations extend as far as our Victories. For to seem to be strenuous, and valorous, in the ingresse into warr, and in the progresse of warr, and then to be negligent, and recreant in the close, and consumation of warr: and so wretchedly to dismisse & denude our selves of that main end, and advantage for which our war was commenced, is most unworthy of Statesmen, or Souldiers. Yea without doubt all prudent men will not onely judge the finall expedition of warre to be a part of warr, but also the most honourable important part of warre, such as merits more hazard, cost, hardship and courage then any other part of the warr. Wherefore it concerns the Adventurers very much to consider seriously how able they are to put themselves in the fore-front of this great undertaking, and to see that they grasp not more then they can hold.

For

For if they go upon a ſever'd intereſt from the reſt of the Planters, which muſt needs be thrice as many as themſelves, and upon miſtake of their own numbers, and abilities obtain priviledges to the fore ſtalling of others more numerous, and able then themſelves: nothing can be expected but that they will be too forward and miſcarrie themſelves in the work, or elſe by their backwardneſs (which will obſtruct other men) the work muſt needs miſcarry in their hands. When we graſp things proportionable to the compaſs of our arms, our hold of them is faſt, and we eaſily bear them away; But when we over-graſp our ſelves, and covet things too great for us, our hold becomes looſe, and we commonly carry away nothing; but of this we need not be ſollicitous, 'tis to be hoped, the Parliament will not adde to one, what muſt be ſubſtracted from another: or grant that in gratification of one particular branch, which is likely to be a meer detriment to the whole body: nor will they abſolutely conclude any thing of that nature at ſo great a diſtance here without referring to the adviſe of their principall Councellors, and Miniſters upon the place there.

Thirdly, in our next ſteps toward this ſettlement, and ſeizin of *Ireland*, we ſhall do well to conſider how we are to look upon the *Iriſh* joyntly, and how and with what diſcrimination we are to look upon ſuch and ſuch of them ſeverally; For as to the point of future ſecurity, we may juſtly fortifie our ſelves by all due means againſt that Religion, as wholly dangerous; and againſt that Nation, as wholly perfidious: if it be urged, that all of that Religion, and Nation were not ingaged againſt us in the ſame offices of cruelty, and trechery: we anſwer, that the *Engliſh* in the day of their diſtreſſe found pitty but from very few in *Ireland*, and that pitty alſo was ſo weakly demonſtrated, that it prooved no defence at all to them as to their eſtates, ſcarce any at all as to their lives: and therefore if ever we leave our ſelves obnoxious again to the like aſſaults of crvell Papiſts, and treacherous *Iriſhmen*, when prevention may be uſed, we ſhall be parties againſt our ſelves, and equally guilty with our enemies, of the cruelty and treachery that is uſed againſt us; In this our caſe therefore, if we ſecure not our ſelves againſt every one, we ſecure not our ſelves againſt any one, and ſince *inculpata tutela* is the only thing we aim at, (a thing ſo highly countenanced by

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the Laws of Nature, and all Nations) we ſcruple not, but we may go very far in our circumſpection: yea and juſtifie our utmoſt jealoſies againſt the whole Religion, and Nation. Then as to the point of ſatisfaction, we alſo demand of the whole Nation of *Ireland* a full ſatisfaction for all the damage that has been ſuſtained by our Nation of *England*, ever ſince the breaking forth of this moſt deteſtable conſpired treaſon: war has its laws as well as peace, and when the Laws of peace are declined, tis a moſt righteous thing that the injurous party, declining the ſame, ſhould be left to the Laws of War, how rigorous ſoever. Now againſt the *Iriſh* we ſhall cite this Law of war.

——Arma tenenti
omnia dat, qui juſta negat.——

And this Law is as ancient as war it ſelf, and likely to be as long lived. This old Canon reads them a difference betwixt the ſentence of the long robe, and the ſhort: The long robe had only condemned the particular wrong doers, and given damages againſt them, adæquate to the wrong done: but that being waved, and the Souldiers adjudication being appeal'd unto, the wrongs of the *Engliſh* are only repaiable by the intire rights of the *Iriſh*; all the *Iriſh*, none excepted, have forfeited all that is to them appertaining in *Ireland*, nothing excepted. If they tell us, that Juridicall Courts may be now opened, and legall remedies may be applied for the doing of right, to all particular parties aggrieved: we anſwer, that the intervening confuſions of war have not only made this offer now too late, but alſo the very aim of it impoſſible, and that ſatisfaction it ſelf which it ſeems willing to hold forth to us, altogether uncompaſſable. The *Engliſh* ſufferers that ſhould now complain, the witneſſes that ſhould now give information, the inſtruments, and evidences of fact, that ſhould now ſtand up in judgment, & declare againſt the *Iriſh* were almoſt all overwhelmed in the generall ruin many years ſince: and if there be ſome few Plaintiffs ſurviving, either they find many of their proofs wanting, or the chief deprædators, & aſſaſſinators dead, fled or inſolvent, or moſt of that which they ſhould recover, is ſpilt like water upon the ground: beſides in ſuch trials what Judges, what Juries, what witneſſes will be admitted to be competent betwixt the Nations? and at laſt if particular men could be ſtill repaied by particular men: yet by what

juridicall course shall the State of *England* be reimbursed by the *Irish*, for all its publick damages sustained in these broils; but for further answer hereunto, we add that though our justice concludes the *Irish* all, and singular liable to those our challenges of reparation, and looks upon all the late inhumanities, as Nationall, and chargable upon the whole body of the people: yet our mercy will exempt all such as really did resist the same to their utmost power: nay the Parliament questionies will not only perform indemnity to such as have been manifestly pure from rapine and violence, but also rebate much of the Laws, asperity and rigor towards thousands, that have been in arms, or contributed assistance against them. Future generations, we hope, shall acknowledge that the *English* laws, and government introduced into *Ireland*, shall be as a new life to the Natives, and yet the incorporation that is intended of both Nations, shall make the *Irish* great gainers by all their losses, and glorious Conquerors at last after all their defeats. And this brings us now to a fourth direction for the manner of our comportment towards the *Irish*, when we have advanced some steps further into this weighty undertaking: when the *Irish* upon the Parliaments Declaration are put to a plain discovery of themselves, that they must either humbly, and quietly conforme to it, or instantly, and avowedly betake themselves to their weapons, for withstanding it: they will, as it were, mark themselves out with their own hands, for pardon or the sword: and so the right dispensing of justice, and mercy will be the lesse difficult to the Parliament. For then we have a good experimented, never-failing rule to guide our selves by; and that is; not to blend severity, and clemency in one, and the same masse, or composition: but to distribute each severally, and purely by it self as occasion shall require. After we have once discerned throughly, who they are that hitherto have been most authoritative, causative, & active against us: and who for the time to come, are likely to be most irreconcilable to us: (for those and these are commonly the same) we must not think such fit objects of favour or indulnence: all relenting thoughts towards such as these, arise from effæminate passions in us, not from true principles of commiseration: and for the most part every ounce of blood, they save to our enemies at present, afterwards draws a pound of blood from

our ſelves, or our deareſt friends: in like manner, when time and proof has informed us ſufficiently, who they are that hitherto have been moſt inſtrumentall, ſubſervient, and paſſive in theſe ſtirs, and who by reaſon of their mean condition, are likely for the time to come, to be moſt eaſily obligeable to us by mercy, and humanity (for thoſe alſo moſt commonly may be pointed at by theſe,) then will it be policy in us to obleige ſuch beyond expectation, and ordinary precedents: there is an art both in exhibiting graces, and inflicting of penalties: and by the ſame art, our clemency is rendred far more ſweet, and our rigor far more majeſtiall. This art faſtned the Scepter in *Solomons* tender hands, and doubtles his quick vndanted proceedings againſt his elder Brother, againſt *Joab*, and ſome other potent Delinquents, made as deep impreſſions of reverence upon the peoples hearts, as all his other incomparable Princely acts of ſpendor, and magnificence.

The famous ſtory likewiſe of that *Romane* Army, that fell into an Enemies hands, and had quarter given, but very diſhonorable, recommends this act the more to us. For the adverſe Generall at that time had an opportunity either of breaking the *Romans* ſtrength, for prevention of future annoyances; or of ingaging the *Romans* to gratitude, for the procuring of a more amicable correſpondence: according to ſalubrious counſell both ways given: but he choſe rather to make an odde mixture of favour, and diſfavour; and having not a heart large enough, totally to oblige, or totally to ſuppreſſe, he loſt both thoſe advantages; and put his Countrey upon a new, fatall triall for its libertie, againſt the ſame Army, vehemently now inraged with reproach, and as intenſively reinforced with rage. And now it were to be wiſht that the *Iriſh* Nation were in the ſame ſtate, and as intirely of the ſame peice as the *Romans* Army then was; that either one ſevere ſtroke might perpetually prevent them from future inſurrections, or one free condeſcention of grace perpetually ingage them to future amitie; nay it were to be wiſht, that it were more ſafe for us to ingratiate, then to ruinate: but this is beyond all hopes and thoughts, and therefore as things now lye before us, we are neceſſitated to look upon the *Iriſh* as contrary, and divided in themſelves: upon ſome of them as reconcileable, and qualified for mercie; upon others as implaca-

ble, and ſo utterly uncapable of any thing but deſtruction. But for our diſtinguiſhing here in a right we ſhall not need (as was before inſinuated) many documents, we ſhall not need ſuch dark intimations, as the ſtaffe of old *Tarquin* did onee privily return to his Son from decapitated Lillies, and Popies (though the language of that ſtaffe was very politick, and ſignificant) our Enemies will ſoon enough make diſcoverie of themſelves how they ſtand prepared for pardon, or vengeance: the principall care that lyes upon us will be, onely to adminiſter, and deal forth pardon, and vengeance, each of them pure, and unmixed with a hand equally free, and bold.

But ſoft: this Diſcourſe is alreadie ſpun out too long, I fear: and I would not offend by my prolixity, where I have ſo little hope otherwiſe to profit, or ſatisfie. If what has been here ſaid has but evinced the work of planting to be as worthy of our States care, and as deſerving of a vigorous purſuit, as any Nationall war is; yea as the warre of *Ireland* it ſelf was in 1641. if it has but rightly ſtated, and facilitated ſome materiall points for higher debates: if it has but tenderd any one ſeaſonable advertiſement for the ordering of our firſt motions, and addreſſes in this great work: I may be perhaps incouraged hereafter to adventure further upon the ſame ſubject, and be as free in a ſecond diſcourſe in conducting our plantation to its period, as I have been here in making things ready for its firſt procedure. But if I have fail'd in all theſe, for want of a judgment equall to my zeal, I humbly begg a favourable excuſe from thoſe few Readers, that ſhall receive the trouble of perufing theſe Papers.

FINIS.